2: Bernardi E, 56-6 (no date) 1959 FL12 Mead FL12

ceremonial place of the initiates, and the *ovil* which is a mutual grouping of comradeship.

The *mangaia* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. Some authorities state that there is only one *mangaia* for each territorial section, [1] but Fox, [2] qualifying Lauterer, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Unde*.

In the *mangaia* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some uninitiated girls (*na mandja ni dilo*) [3] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure. [4] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *mangaia* for the menial works and for tending cattle. [5]

The groupings named *ovil*, pl. *isivil*, are formed, according to Warmenova, [6] at a meeting called by the regular when it is decided to build the *mangaia*. Membership of the *ovil* is a matter of free choice. An initiate is free to join any *ovil*, and he is free to change it for another even after his first election. But if he does so when the *mangaia* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *ovil*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, Warmenova states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*ovil*). [7] Rivers, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *mangaia*

[1] Rivers, l. c., p. 65. Lauterer, l. c., p. 188. Rivers, l. c., p. 61 notes that "every section has usually seven three favourite districts, to each of which is a village, called 'mangaia'".

[2] Fox, l. c., p. 231.

[3] Rivers, l. c., p. 66.

[4] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscuous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned.

[5] According to Rivers, l. c., p. 114, the initiates who belong to the sixth rade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same rade. The sixth initiates organize their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other sections.

[6] Warmenova, l. c., p. 186.

[7] Warmenova described the *ovil* as based on the clan. The *Rik*, vol. p. 6, states that "*mangaia* is inhabitated by the males of one particular clan". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principle, and certainly does not obtain with the Kimuga. Cf. Formenova, l. c., p. 24.

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife. [84]

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by one of the elders, who also presents him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonials have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elder shoves four or eight * (it must be four or eight) * head of the initiate's cattle, and he hits each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shaves him.[**] The ceremony is now complete.

Fourneau,[***] makes reference to a similar ceremony * by which a person is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle *.[****] He then remarks that * this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the egalure ceremony *. This indicates that * that egalure of milk * must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognized only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of * the egalure of meat *. We are informed by Fox,[*****] that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as * the second al-egalure ceremony, called the Al-egalure of meat *. After each ceremony the initiate may eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been cooked by a woman. [85]

The egalure proper is the closing ceremony which finally initiates the age class. It is celebrated by the Kimego, but unknown[1] and accepted throughout Wanaland.[******] The ceremony is briefly described by Hobley,[*******] as follows: * when all the members [84]

[**] These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not remarried while he was still uncircumcised, or by the two women together.

[***] Fourneau, l. c., p. 36.

[****] The expression * his wife's cattle * sounds inaccurate and redundant. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle tended by his wife.

[*****] Fox, l. c., pp. 400 a.

[******] Fourneau, l. c., p. 36, states that the ceremony * is traditionally held on always the 7 morrah (the hill of the Elders), Upper Kenyan, Kiambu District.

[*******] Hobley, l. c., p. 78.

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[illegible] sweetheart (*e-mapiri*) girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *e-ta* 'elder sis' and *e-mo* 'elder,' and no member may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his own relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.'

The payment of the bridal price authorizes a Maori to restore the children which his wife may bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his lands and flocks. But though polyandrous marriage is recognized, sexual connexion is something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the wives of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of propriety and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Maori may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organization of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exigency of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relatives, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His head is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are slaughtered. If a stranger or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is severely caned by the members of that age-grade. Tribute he pays the widow two cows, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy heavy wine, and pays them to observe the rules, it is supposed he will die.

If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relatives in order to 'kill the relationship' (*e-ver ange-ngeri*).

A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connexion with her until the child cuts the two middle lower teeth of its upper and lower jaw. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *e-kakawaka*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, smearing and anointing the animals with their garments.

Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Maori*, p. 207. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Maori*, p. 203.

11: Leakey B-8 (no date) 1938 FL.11 Maasai FL.11
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Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a manyatta hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband may come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the manyatta, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men actually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the manyatta.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the manyatta sometime before. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is so true of primitive peoples as it

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Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Olng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be restrained if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to return it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (see p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Mawi*. Relationship is not recognised beyond first cousin. The Maasai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Maasai descent, *Ol Maasinai aimati*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under mounds of stones.

[1] See p. 200 of this volume.

the father's home or to his own wapotiki. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on mothers having sexual relations with married women. 387

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers (387) she may inherit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has (877) had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her (948) husband's half-brother. If he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his.

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Stella's sons says (915) that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and even six (once) each live often, and more than two very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, and as the boy with on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children.

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide (187) and clearly. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own grade) may have access (184) to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy.

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary (184) separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is an Nuak, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is an Nuak, to her father.

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted, and even today, (917) children of "foreigners" (those who are not Nuak) may be adopted, especially in case of famine. Such children become accepted as Nuak. Under the term "adoption" it also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a woman who may adopt a child of one of her co-wives.

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, and (914) sometimes. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels (914) strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as (913) the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it (911) is between one and two years old. (Stella says all the time when I rate the two (915) middle lower teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl.

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is (953) taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins (953, with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother

/Fr van./

/Surname 1 van./ husbands. Action to whom a woman has given birth from due living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

They chart an incursion from when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Sometimes in the form of a potion are used, which are said to be taken during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they omit the procedure and call the newborn child.

They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper knee placed over the man's loins. They do not customarily exhibit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the womb of his wife would create nothing but water.

Boys and girls already begin to practice copulation at the age of eight or ten.

It is considered extremely dangerous to touch wind in the presence of women.

Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Confinement. -- Restrictions in connection with the birth. -- Twins. -- Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Children's games.

As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years. Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This stipulation, however, seems to be little

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